1:Redfield E-5 (1926-1927)1930
NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

142
291
302

THE PHYSICAL TYPE

[facing page 29]

1:Redfield E-5 (1926-1927)1930
NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

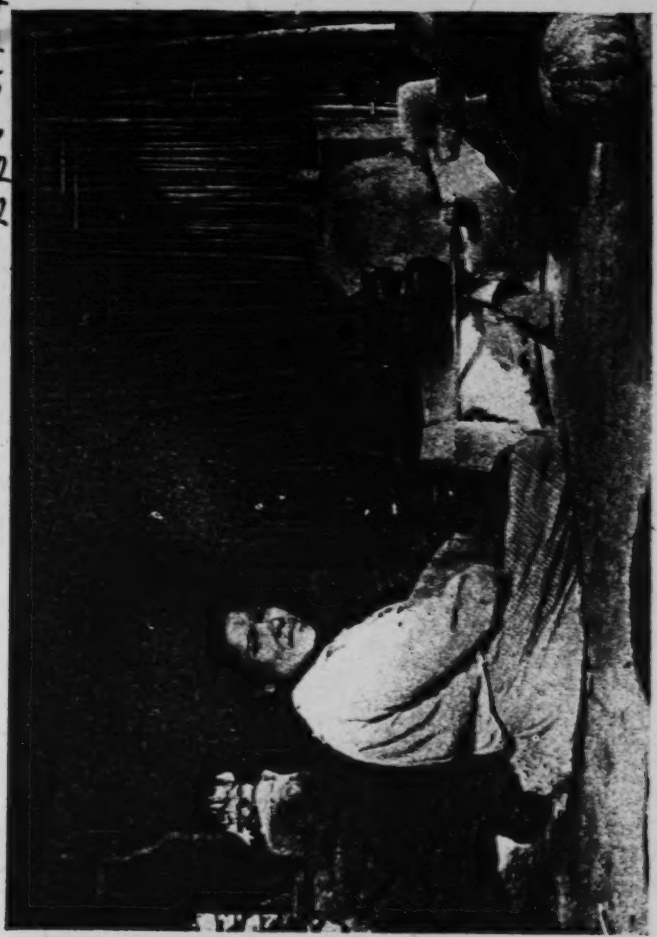
177 Columbian contributions are of much greater relative [291] importance. Finally, clothing, especially that of women, is an aspect of material culture where Indian elements have been almost entirely supplanted by European.

342 The house group is the dwelling of a single family with accompanying outbuildings. As house sites are almost always walled off from the streets and as houses are rebuilt upon the rubble of earlier structures, the house, except near the central *plaza*, is usually above the level of the street. The house is always rectangular. The walls are most commonly of *adobe;* but may be of rough stones set in a mud mortar, or withes, wattle, or cornstalk. The roof, except where poverty [735] prescribes mere thatching, is of tiles (a European im- [177] provement); the roofs are almost flat. There is ordinarily only one entrance to a room. Where there is more than one room, passage from one to another may most commonly be effected only by going outside and entering the single entrance of the adjoining room. [177] Window openings, except in the more Europeanized houses near the *plaza*, are rare. Glass windows and screening are practically unknown. Floors are of dirt.

177 342 Where wealth or Spanish influence has been stronger, most particularly in buildings near the central *plaza*, the form of the house may be modified in one or more of the following respects: The rooms are grouped around a *patio*. A roofed corridor runs around the inside of this. Or, much more commonly, the single room is fronted by a roofed porch, built integral with

1:Redfield E-5 (1926-1927) 1930
NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

142
291
302
354
412
415
516
252
342



KITCHEN: SHOWING *TLEQUIL, COMAL, METATE, METLAPIL, OLLA DE NIXTAMAL,* AND *BATEA*

[facing page 36]

1:Redfield E-5 (1926-1927)1930
NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

men. The maguey does not flourish at this low altitude; therefore *pulque* (anciently *octli*) must be imported, and its use is confined largely to festal occasions.

The ancient male costume of the Aztecs, although modified according to the social position of the wearer, was composed of three principal garments: the *maxtlatl*, a belt or loincloth with the ends hanging down in front like an apron; the *tilmahtli*, a woven cape worn over the shoulders and knotted in front; and the *cactli*, sandals of leather or woven of maguey fiber. Of these three the first has entirely disappeared,[1] the second influenced the form and use of the modern *zarape*, while the third remains little changed today. For all articles of men's clothing worn today in Tepoztlán, Nahuatl terms are in use. The ancient term *tilmahtl* is applied to the *zarape*, and the sandals are still called *cactli* or *cuitlax-cactli* ("leather sandals"). The other terms are descriptive compositions, or are Spanish roots modified to suit Nahuatl linguistic patterns.

A man wears one or more shirts (S. *camisa;* N. *cotontli*) and over these, when the weather is colder or for better dress, a blouse (S. *blusa;* N. *panicotontli*). These, like the trousers, are made of cheap white cotton cloth bought in the local stores and are made up by the women. The blouse is buttonless; the lower ends tie together in front. For holiday attire the shirt may be pink or blue, or a colored vest (S. *chaleco*)

[1] It may possibly be worn by some in Tepoztlán, as it still is elsewhere in Mexico (*ibid.*, p. 121).

1:Redfield E-5 (1926-1927) 1930
NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

may be added. Loose white trousers (S. *calzones;* N. *cahzon*) of the same material are worn. These are wide at the waist; the sides are crossed in front and the trousers are held up by a cloth belt or sash (S. *faja* or *ceñidor;* N. *teilpiloni*). A man often goes barefoot. The sandals are of the ancient pattern except that steer leather is used. A woman does not wear sandals except when traveling. The straw hat (S. *sombrero;* N. *cuatlayecahuilotl*), worn almost everywhere in Mexico, is of course of Spanish origin. A few styles are "correct" in Tepoztlán.

It remains to mention the *zarape*. Ramon Mena[1] derives the word from Nahuatl *tzalanpepechtli* (*tzalan*, "interwoven," and *pepechtli*, "thick blanket"), a descriptive term applied by the Indians to the heavy blankets, often woven in with metal threads, carried by the conquerors and placed by them upon the ground when resting or sleeping. This blanket and the *tilmahtli* fused, culturally, and became the *zarape*. In Tepoztlán two forms are worn: the blanket form, wrapped around the shoulders and held together with one arm, and the *poncho* form,[2] in which the head passes through an opening in the center. The *zarape* is entirely masculine, but on unusually cold days a woman may borrow a *zarape* and wear it beneath her *rebozo*.

The *machete* (N. *tlateconi* or *tepoztlateconi*), the characteristic Mexican steel knife with the curved tip, is

[1] Ramon Mena, "El Zarape," *Anales del Museo Nacional de Arqeología, Historia y Etnografía* (época 5ª), I, No. 4 (Sept.–Oct., 1925), 373 ff.

[2] This *poncho* is probably South American in origin.

1:Redfield E-5 (1926-1927)1930
NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

412 293 so generally carried that it may be mentioned as a part of the costume.

177 291 The woman's costume in Tepoztlán preserves fewer indigenous elements, although this is not the case in many other villages in Southern Mexico. Before the Conquest it consisted of two principal garments: a loose blouse (*huipilli*) and a skirt (*cueitl*), consisting of a rectangular cloth wrapped around the lower part of the body. The *huipilli*, under that same name, is worn in many Indian communities south of Morelos, but not in Tepoztlán. In Tepoztlán the woman's costume is European in origin, and the names of the garments in Nahuatl discourse are Spanish, except those for the skirts, which are descriptive Nahuatl terms.

291 Over white cotton underdrawers (S. *pantelones;* N. *pantelontin*) is worn an underskirt (S. *enaguas adentro;* N. *cueiztactli*), usually also white, and over this a colored overskirt (S. *enaguas encima;* N. *cueipanitl*). The skirts are ankle length, very full, and gored. A collarless shirt (S. *camisa;* N. *camisahtin*), tucked into the skirt, covers the upper part of the body. Over it is worn a blouse (S. *saco;* N. *sacohtin*), and over this usually an apron. This either includes an upper piece covering the chest, when it is called (S.) *babero*, (N.) *baberohtin*, or does not, when it is called (S.) *delantal*, (N.) *delantaltin*. Around the waist is wound a sash (S. *ceñidor;* N. *zinidor*), dark blue or gray, about eight inches wide and six to ten feet long. This is the only [286] garment of those here enumerated which is woven in

1:Redfield E-5 (1926-1927) 1930
NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

Tepoztlán. Almost invariably there are earrings, often of gold (S. *aretes;* N. *areteztin*), and a short string of beads, most commonly red seeds (N. *corales;* N. *coraleztin*). Except when walking long distances, when sandals may be worn, or when in city dress, which includes shoes, the feet are bare. The only overgarment is the *rebozo* (N. *payo*), a sort of shawl worn over the head and upper body; one end is drawn across the breast and thrown back over the left shoulder. This is the characteristically Mexican garment worn almost everywhere and by every class except the highest. The *rebozo*, like the *zarape*, is a post-Conquest development, but unlike the *zarape* it has no Indian progenitor. It probably represents a cheaper and more practical modification of the Spanish *mantilla* by the working Indian woman; and it had already taken its form by the end of the sixteenth century.[1]

Many women possess, for Sunday costume, a one-piece dress of finer material. This is nearly always white, with a flounced skirt, and ornamented with pink or blue ribbons.

No woman ever wears a hat except when a man's hat is worn for work in the fields or traveling in the sun. When sitting in the sun a woman may wind the *rebozo* on her head like a turban, but the real turban headdress frequently found in Southern Mexico is absent. The hair is worn in two braids, or, particularly by girls and young women, in a single braid. No cos-

[1] José de J. Nuñez y Dominguez, *El rebozo*. Mexico: Departamento Editorial de la Dirección General de las Bellas Artes, 1917.

1:Redfield E-5 (1926-1927)1930
NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

metics are used except that at the carnival talcum powder may be put on the face.

Two generations ago the prevailing woman's costume in Tepoztlán was of another sort, a sort which included more aboriginal elements. This costume still survives in Tepoztlán, where two or three old women still wear it; there are probably others in the neighboring hamlets. It consisted of two principal garments: a skirt (N. *pitzcueitl*), of homespun, white above the hip and black below, where it was pleated; and a white triangle of similar homespun worn over the head like a *poncho* with one corner hanging down the back. This latter garment is the *quechquemitl*. It is a probably indigenous garment worn by Indian women in Central and Northern Mexico.

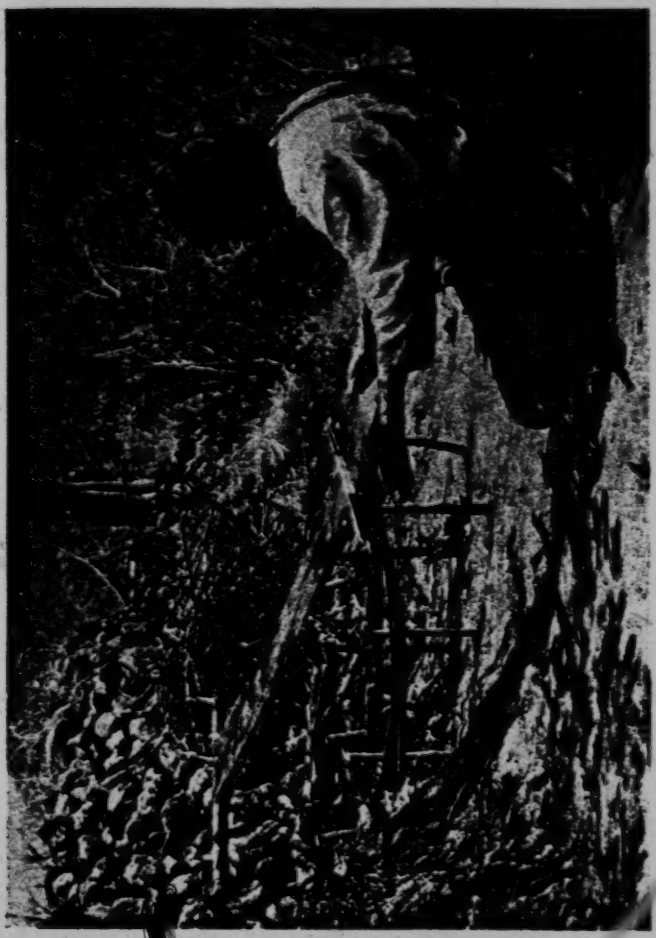
These two garments were made locally on primitive looms. Today all textiles are imported either as ready-made garments or as cloth to make up into clothing, except some of the women's belts which are still made locally.

The children's clothing reproduces that of the adults.

The aboriginal transportation system and that introduced by the Spaniards exist side by side in Tepoztlán, as they do nearly everywhere in Mexico. *Burros*, mules, horses, and oxen, with the accompanying paraphernalia—saddles, bridles, lassos, yokes—are used in patterns substantially those of sixteenth-century Spain. Only the wheel is not used in Tepoztlán, because the steepness and rockiness of the roads make its use impossible.

1:Redfield E-5 (1926-1927) 1930
NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

286
291
302
516



THE LOOM

[facing page 48]

1:Redfield E-5 (1926-1927)1930
NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

177 terial culture in columns representing the categories
369 suggested.

General Tepoztecan Culture			Secondary Elements
Indian Elements	Mixed Elements	Spanish Elements	
MEN'S CLOTHING			
[291] Sandals	*Zarape*	Undergarments; shirt; trousers; vest; blouse; straw hat	Dark trousers; shoes; felt hat
WOMEN'S CLOTHING			
(*Quechquemitl; pitzcueitl*)		The *rebozo* and almost all other clothing	Shoes
THE HOUSE			
[342] General form and materials: *Temazcal*, granaries; turkeys	Water-tank	Tiled roofs; hinged doors; chickens, pigs	Balconies; brick floor; iron grilles
HOUSE FURNISHINGS			
[354] *Petate; otate* bed; *icquil; olla; metate; comal; molcajete; chiquihuite; tompiate*	*Cazuelas; jarros; kateas;* benches; stools	Table; candles; oilcans; water-carrier; *machete;* sewing machine	Brass bed; phonograph; oil lamp; forks Backed chairs; Brazier
FOODS AND STIMULANTS			
[262] [276] [273] *Tortillas; moles; tamales; atoles:* beans; maize; *chile;* squash; tomatoes, *pulque*	*Tortas;* tobacco	Bananas and citrus fruits; sugar; spices; rice; lima beans; beef and pork; chickens and eggs; coffee; *aguardiente*	Canned foods; beer

1:Redfield E-5 (1926-1927)1930
NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

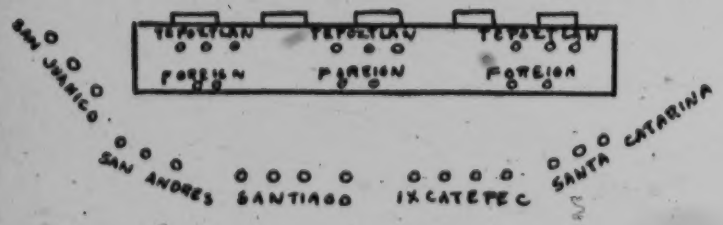
291
143

THE MARKET

[facing page 59]

1:Redfield E-5 (1926-1927) 1930
NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

rounding hamlet sit always together, and always in the same absolute and relative position. The merchants come by villages, and sit by villages; and the differences between them are further emphasized by the fact that the products they sell are largely different, as one village group is compared with another. There is thus the following permanent market pattern:



Amatlán also has an economic specialty: the making of beds of cane;[1] but Amatlán and Santo Domingo, as has already been stated, are less firmly associated with the rest of the valley community, and their inhabitants do not regularly bring goods to sell at the market.

Differences between the villages are not limited to those brought about by geographic factors. The stability of populations, even within the small confines of this natural community, and the local nature of traditional loyalties, have made it possible for other cultural distinctions to survive. Outside of the Tepoztlán community, such differences are, of course, more marked. Yautepec is no more than fifteen miles away, but a native of Tepoztlán may tell a traveler coming

[1] Not verified by personal observation.

1:Redfield E-5 (1926-1927)1930
NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

from Yautepec at a considerable distance because he wears his trousers shorter and tighter and because he is likely to wear a handkerchief at his neck. It is also probable that there are dialectic differences which distinguish Yautepec from Tepoztlán. Of differences between hamlets within the community there are probably many. In Santa Catarina beans are first toasted and then boiled with much *epazote*,[2] whereas in Tepoztlán that staple is not toasted and the boiling is usually without *epazote*. No statistical proof can be offered here of the statement, which in Tepoztlán is generally accepted as representing the fact, that in San Andres marriage takes place, "according to ancient custom," generally at the age of twelve to sixteen, whereas in Tepoztlán the ages are most commonly from eighteen to twenty-four.

In spite of local differences, the eight villages are bound together by certain institutions in which each village has a share. Chief of these institutions are the common lands, the market, and the traditional festal and ceremonial organization. The bi-weekly interchange of goods and gossip at the market has already been briefly described. The other two principal integrating factors require more comment.

The common lands[3] of the community constitute

[1] Differences in Spanish spoken. Little Nahuatl is spoken at Yautepec, which, although a pre-Columbian site, is now largely a *mestizo* community.

[2] *Chenopodium ambrosioides* L. This statement rests on the account of one informant.

[3] The general subject of "The Land Systems of Mexico" is admirably treated in G. M. McBride's book of that title, previously cited.

1:Redfield E-5 (1926-1927)1930
NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

646 Disregarding such occasional foreigners in the political personnel, one may say that the municipal council is expressive rather than active. It maintains prestige, presides at public meetings, and receives the salutations of visitors. Actual work, as, for example, the 565 installation of a lamp in the *plaza*, the exploitation of 665 marketable wild roots on the public lands, or the promotion of the secular celebrations, is done by the small group of townspeople who are richer, better educated, and more accustomed to city ways than others. These men are the shopkeepers and many of the artisans. They are *los correctos*—the "correct" people—as contrasted with *los tontos*[1]—the "ignorant" [291] people. The former wear shoes and dark trousers; the latter, sandals and white trousers. The personnel of the municipal government now tends to be drawn from *los tontos*, while *los correctos* constitute the influential citizens who occupy the other half of the platform at public meetings but who regard politics with something akin to disdain. Politics, therefore, is enjoyed by the same element in the population that organizes the religious *fiestas*, and, like these, constitutes a form of play.

[104] [1] It may be stated, perhaps unnecessarily, that these two terms (*tontos* and *correctos*) are used in the following pages not in their original Spanish meanings, but merely to designate two groups in Tepoztlán that are sometimes so designated by the people themselves, and that lack other convenient names.

1:Redfield E-5 (1926-1927)1930
NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

291
341
483
541
*796

SANTA CATARINA: RAISING THE *CASTILLO*

[facing page 105]

1:Redfield E-5 (1926-1927)1930
NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

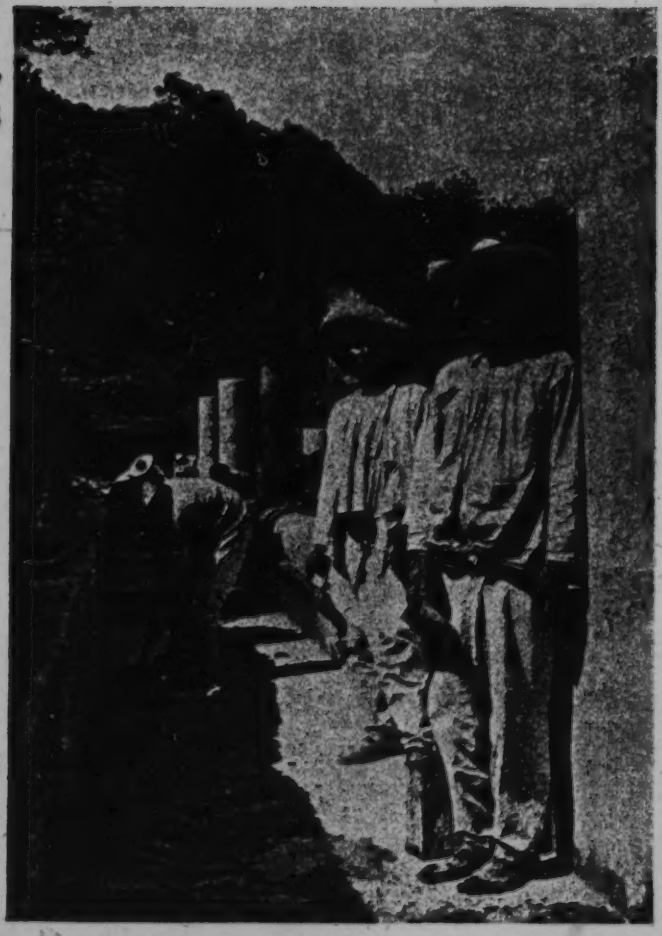
291
342

A HOUSEHOLD

[facing page 141]

1:Redfield E-5 (1926-1927)1930
NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

291
296
653

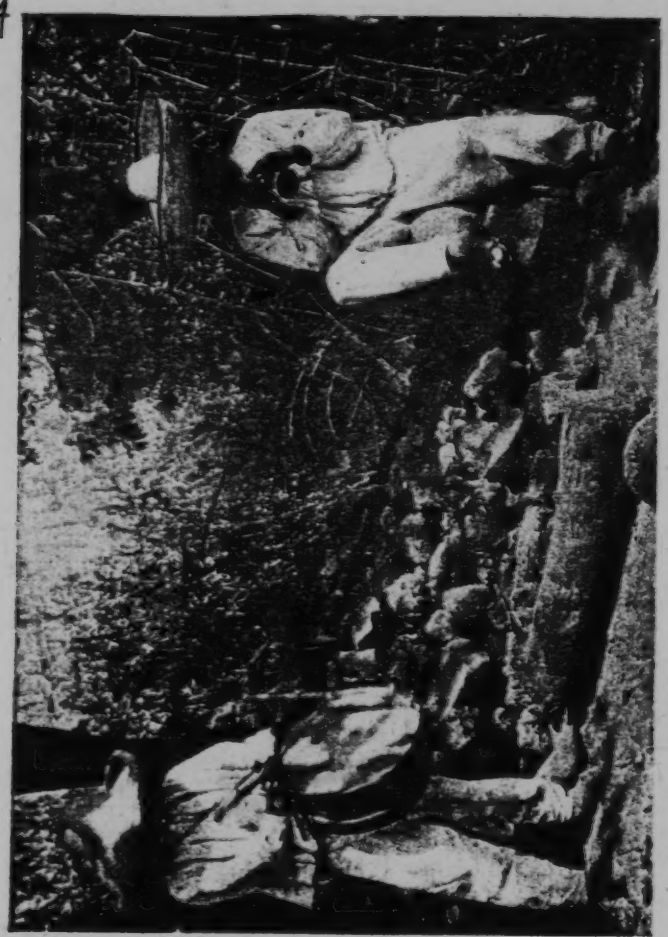


CUATEQUITL: REPAIRING THE PUBLIC WASHING-STONES, *BARRIO* OF LA SANTISIMA

[facing page 147]

1:Redfield E-5 (1926-1927)1930
NU37 Tepoztlan [illegible]7

291
516
534

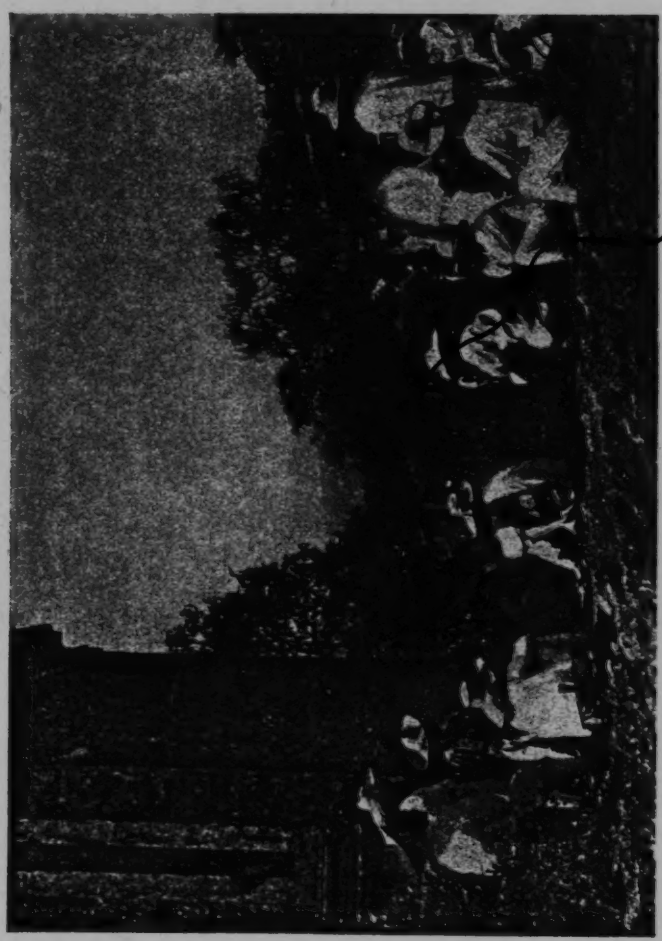


CHIRIMITERO AND HIS DRUMMER: AT THE *CASTIYOHPA, BARRIO* OF SANTA CRUZ

[facing page 151]

1:Redfield E-5 (1926-1927) 1930
NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

291
516
533
341



SANTA CATARINA: LISTENING TO *CORRIDOS*

[facing page 180]

1:Redfield E-5 (1926-1927)1930
NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

142
291
302

A REPRESENTATIVE OF THE OLDER FOLK CULTURE

[facing page 209]

2;Lewis E-5 (1943-1948)1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

• 291

[415]

[412]

[p. i not processed] [p. ii]

, 2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948) 1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

Fig. 10. A street, resembling a dried-out stream bed.

rain. To the east is the large cathedral and convent, the most imposing and handsome buildings in the village. The convent is now a historical monument and is visited by tourists. Between the cathedral and the plaza is a row of whitewashed, flat-roofed stores. West of the plaza is a dirt road leading to the lower part of the village, to the cemetery, and to the village of Ixcatepec and more stores. The mills and some of the finer old houses of former *caciques* are also located on the plaza.

This part of the village presents the appearance and some of the hustle and bustle of a town, but the streets off the center are uniformly quiet and rustic and stamp Tepoztlán as a rural village. (See Fig. 12.) But even the center does not give the impression of an active, thriving community. The park, plaza, and public buildings show evidence of chronic neglect. Only for the annual Carnaval is the area well swept and the main fountain cleaned. The park is seldom occupied by the native population and, except when there are tourists, usually looks abandoned.

The stores are small and dark and have unattractive displays. On market days the few vendors and the small variety of goods available betray little commercial activity and a general air of decline. (See Fig. 13.)

The streets just off the plaza bear names indicated by placards. As is customary in Mexico the street names commemorate important historical events and outstanding local figures. Thus in Tepoztlán we find such street names as The Fifth of May, Aniceto Villamar, and No Reelección.[8] Only those houses in the center are

[8] Some of the street names are in Náhuatl and refer to pre-Hispanic figures, for example: Avenida del Tepozteco and Nezahualcoyotl.

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948) 1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

fiesta or the *tepeuuatli* on the roof of the chapel, one or more sacred dances and sometimes *toros*—all constitute a program of ritual and entertainment which occupies from one to seven days. Although members of other *barrios* take part in the entertainment, the *barrio* whose *santo* is celebrated acts as host, and its members very much feel their collective importance.[20]

Barrio *esprit de corps* is also reflected in the inter-barrio competition, especially at the Carnaval, in the claims of superior miraculousness of some barrio saints as over against others, and in the traditional nicknames of each of the barrios. More recently, the soccer teams were organized on an inter-barrio basis, but this did not last.

Yet it would be easy to overestimate the strength of this *esprit de corps*[21] and the differences between the barrios. For example, Redfield wrote:

> The *barrios* have, indeed, obviously different cultures, or what is the same thing, different personalities. The varying characteristics of the *barrios* are recognized by the Tepoztecans themselves, and at least the more reflective of them can express the differences they feel. Thus, Santo Domingo is the most civilized *barrio* and the most patriotic (i.e., most nearly conscious of national feeling).... Santa Cruz is strongly primitive—Catholic, exclusive, and independent.... San Pedro is a *barrio* of poor, illiterate people who preserve to a marked extent ancient mentality and resent the presence of outsiders in their midst....[22]

The consciousness of *barrio* personalities receives an expression in names which are applied to the *barrios*. These names are in Náhuatl and are in every case names of animals. The names are

Santo Domingo	Cacame [Toads]
La Santísima	Tzicame [Ants]
San Miguel	Techihehicame [Lizards]
Santa Cruz and San Sebastián	Tapemaxtlame [*Cacomixtles*]
Los Reyes	Metzalcuanime [Maguey Worms]
San Pedro	Tlacuatzitzin [*Tlacuaches*][23]

This account does not describe present-day conditions as observed by the informants and me, and would seem to be a considerable exaggeration of barrio differences even for 1926. At best it would perhaps apply to conditions before 1900 when barrio differences were greater. Barrio nicknames were remembered by our informants, but they are rarely used and have little function in the life of the community. We were also told that a man's barrio could be determined by small differences in dress or manner, but we could observe no such differences, nor were they explained to us. This is not to deny the existence of some barrio differences. It is true, for example, that Santa Cruz has the reputation of being the

[20] *Ibid.*, p. 78.

[21] Some of the symptoms of weakness are the very poor turnout of barrio members for the planting and harvesting of the barrio milpa, the lack of candidates willing to serve as *mayordomo*, and the renting out of the barrio milpas on a cash basis.

[22] *Ibid.*, p. 80.

[23] *Ibid.*, p. 81.

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948) 1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

for there are employers and employees within the specialties. Thus, a part-time carpenter may employ two assistants during the busy season in his trade. In this connection it should be noted that the numbers of occupations shown in Table 19 refer to both artisans and their day laborers.

The changes in occupation and specialization can best be appreciated by a comparison of our data with that given by Redfield for 1926. A complete comparison is not always possible because some of the occupations in Tepoztlán are new and others, though mentioned by Redfield, were not given in numbers. Table 19 lists the occupations and numbers of persons employed in 1926 as compared with 1944. Also included are the number who belong to families with milpas in *ejido*, private holdings or *tlaxcalol*, to indicate those who have other sources of income. Finally, I have listed the number who work in their fields, in addition to their trade, to determine the degree of specialization.

An examination of Table 19 indicates at once the magnitude of the changes in occupations. Considering first only those occupations for which there is comparable data, we find that there has been an increase from 69 to 187 individuals who work in the various occupations. This represents an increase of 161 per cent as compared with a population increase during this period of approximately 45 per cent.[4] Comparing the number of individuals engaged in special occupations in 1926 with the number today, we find an increase from 69 to 273. This represents an increase of over 290 per cent.

The difference between these two figures is in a sense a measure of the degree of acculturation and the rise in the standard of living. The sharp rise in the number of storekeepers, teachers, butchers, bakers, and masons bears out this statement. In contrast to the small number of stores (five), which existed in Redfield's time, all of which were in the plaza; there are now twenty stores, ten in the plaza and ten distributed among the barrios. The spread of stores to the barrios reflects the general tendency in the village, whereby the outlying barrios are becoming incorporated into the life of the center.

The stores have not only increased in number; they also carry a much wider variety of goods than twenty years ago. Formerly one had to go to Yautepec or Cuernavaca to buy sombreros, cloth, or pants. Now these items and many others are available in the village. The increase in the number of bakers from six to twenty-four attests to the widespread use of bread as a supplement to the tortilla. (See Fig. 17.) Even the poorest family looks forward to eating rolls at least a few times during the week. The figures on the increase of shoemakers from two to five do not adequately reveal the increase in the number of individuals who own shoes. According to the census of 1940, more than three hundred women wore shoes daily. However, shoes are given little wear and are used primarily on Sundays and days of fiesta.

[4] This estimate is conservative, for as has already been indicated, there must have been fewer than 69 individuals with special occupations in 1926.

2;Lewis E-5 (1943-1948)1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

The increase in the number of butchers (Fig. 18) parallels the greater consumption of meat in the village. An analysis of the municipio records indicates that the consumption of meat from 1931 to 1941 rose more than 130 per cent while the population increase was approximately 30 per cent. There are four meat stores, but meat is also sold in the open marketplace. There are no refrigeration facilities; the meat is hung on a line in the open air.

The number of teachers given in Table 19 refers to those Tepoztecans who are employed as teachers either in Tepoztlán or in other villages. Those now teaching

Fig. 17. A local b[illegible]

in Tepoztlán number fourteen in contrast with two teachers in 1926. There are now two schools, one in the center and the other in the barrio of Los Reyes.[5] The registration in the former at the present time is 611 and in the latter 61. Thus, from the "few score" children reported by Redfield in 1926 there is now a total registration of 672.[6]

Two other items in Table 19 deserve comment: the increase in barbers from five to fifteen and in corn merchants from two to thirteen. The former is another index of acculturation. Most men now visit the barber on an average of once a month. In the family budgets we have studied, the cost of haircuts for the male members of the household amounts to a sizeable sum during the year. There are three barber shops in the center, with modern barber chairs and equipment, and one each in the outlying barrios of San Sebastián and Los Reyes. The equipment

[5] The school in Los Reyes was built in 1931 through the initiative of the inhabitants of the small barrios.

[6] The average monthly attendance was 430.

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948) 1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

of the remaining ten consists of comb, shears, and scissors, and the barber usually performs in his yard under a *ciruela* tree. Barbering is still an occasional occupation. Even in the center shops there are no fixed hours, and they are normally open only on Sundays and Wednesdays.

Of the fourteen corn merchants in the village, four buy corn on a large scale; the

Fig. 18. Meat display in the market.

others buy up small quantities which they take to Cuernavaca twice a week. Two factors have been responsible for the increase in corn merchants. Most important was the expansion of the land base by the *ejido* grants and the privilege of using the communal *ilacolol* lands. Twenty years ago there was a greater relative number of landless *peones* than today, and the village had to import large quantities of corn for its own consumption. Today the village sells about 1,000 *cargas* of corn out of a total production of about 14,000 *cargas*.[1] The new needs of the people, the higher standard of living, and the sharp rise in prices in the last few years, demand a larger amount of ready cash than formerly and force many families to sell their corn.

Referring again to Table 19, we see that there has also been an increase in the number of *curanderos, chirimiteros,* and fireworks makers. These are the specialists which Redfield characterized as the *tontos* in contrast to the *correctos,* who were the storekeepers, merchants, etc. Today no such distinction exists in the village.

[1] One *carga* is about 213 pounds.

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948) 1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

The *curanderos,* on the other hand, are prejudicial to the health of the people and are a definite impediment to the realization of national health programs. In view of our brief example, no blanket statements can be made; each institution must be examined in the light of its social function in the community.

The new occupations in Tepoztlán consist of the millers, chauffeurs, bus line

Fig. 19. A corn mill.

employees, tile and brickmakers, and druggists.[9] In all there are 41 individuals who work in these occupations. All the men who work for the bus cooperatives are members or sons of members of the cooperatives. Such membership is a prerequisite for employment. Tile and brickmaking are technically not new occupations, since these trades were practiced on a small scale prior to the Revolution. During the years of the Revolution and the hard times which immediately followed, the trade lapsed. In 1934 it was revived and now is growing steadily. The tile and brick makers produce only for the needs of the village.

[9] The ropemakers and charcoal makers listed in Table 19 are occupations of long standing and were mentioned by Redfield, although an accurate comparison of the expansion in these occupations cannot be given here because Redfield did not state the number in 1926.

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948) 1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

291
293
482
492

Fig. 23. Tepoztecans, returning home from work.

241
is practiced by necessity, for the fields cease to produce after the first few years; in [242]
plow culture, the same fields may be planted year after year until the soil is completely exhausted.

Tlacolol is essentially geared to production for subsistence, while plow culture [433]
is better geared to production for the market. It is significant that most families [735]
who work *tlacolol* are landless and that *tlacolol* has traditionally been viewed as the last resort of the poor. However, farmers who own small plots of land may also [178]
work some *tlacolol* to supplement their meager income. Indeed, in the past few years a new trend is occurring in the village because of inflation. Tepoztecans who [427]
own considerable private land now rent it out or let it rest, and themselves work in *tlacolol*. This is resented by most *tlacololeros*, who believe that the communal lands [578]
should serve the landless. The attitude of the *tlacololeros* is better understood in the light of the fact that the communal lands are becoming exhausted and can no longer support the present-day population.

Other differences between *tlacolol* and plow culture include the cycles of work, the tools, the type of corn, the work techniques, and even the terminology. Gen-

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948)1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

243
291
516

Fig. 30. Weeding with machetes in *tlacolol* of *cerros*.

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948)1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

264 men carry their breakfast with them, to be warmed and eaten later. (See Fig. 40.) They may eat once again at noon and have their dinner when they arrive home, at any time from 5:00 to 9:00 P.M.

[562] [855] When they eat at home they are usually served first and receive preferential treatment. The women and children who remain at home eat breakfast at 7:00 or 8:00 A.M., dinner at about 1:00 P.M., and supper at dusk. Younger children are generally fed before the mother and the older daughter sit down to eat. In most homes the

[291] [516]

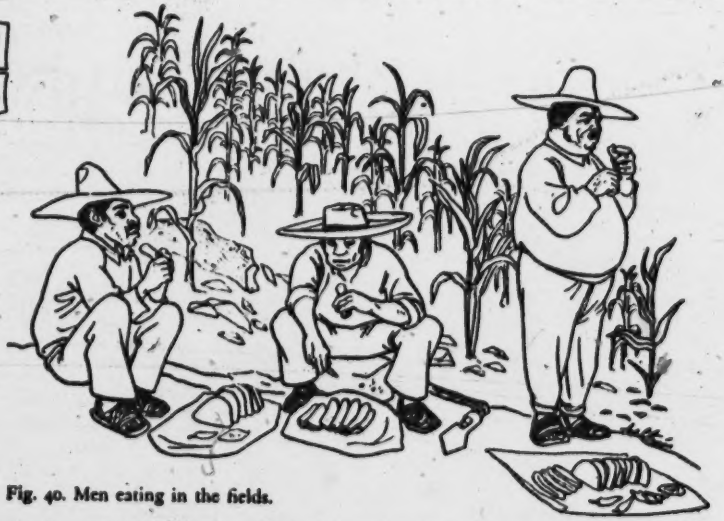


Fig. 40. Men eating in the fields.

[351] [562] members of the family sit on low chairs or stools, or the women and children sit on the floor. Very few families use a table except during a fiesta meal, and then it is only for the men and guests. Likewise, knives and forks are generally reserved for fiesta times only. The mother serves, handing each person his food in a bowl or wrapped in a tortilla. Spoons may be used, but food is usually eaten with the tortilla as a spoon.

272 [264] [735] [178] [757] For most people, breakfast consists of black coffee and tortilla. Some take milk in their coffee and eat bread instead of tortilla; some eat toasted meat or warmed-over beans. During hard times, poorer families drink tea made from cinnamon or local herbs instead of coffee. It should be remembered that coffee drinking is a relatively new phenomenon among the poor; in the late nineteenth century only the *caciques* could afford it. Today, tea drinking is associated with poverty or illness, for many of the teas are used to cure stomach-ache, colds, sore throats, etc.[8]

[273] [751]

[8] In many families it is customary for the father to begin the day with a drink of alcohol. Similarly, when the peasants return from the fields at night, they generally take a drink of alcohol to counteract *los aires* and to avoid taking cold.

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948) 1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

beef (bull or ox)	*chirimoya*	onion
cinnamon	honey	ice
orange	squash	ices
plums	garlic	ice cream
black *zapote*	*mamey*	oil
brown sugar	alcohol	all fats
tequesquite	acacia seeds	

261
262

CLOTHING

The old-style clothing is essentially Spanish in origin, with some admixture and adaptations from pre-Hispanic times. The old-style costume for women consists of a long dark-colored skirt (*enaguas de encima*), a white underskirt, (*enaguas de dentro*), a collarless undershirt (*camisa*), and a high-necked blouse (*blusa* or *saco*). The costume includes a half-apron (*delantal*) and a sash (*cenidor*). The *rebozo* is also invariably worn. About three or four generations ago women still wore the dress of pre-Conquest times. This consisted of a *huipil*, or blouse, which was a large square of cloth worn poncho-like, by slipping it over the head through a slit in the center. It was worn in such a way that two corners fell over the shoulders, and the front and back corners were tucked into the skirt. The *huipil* differs markedly from the prudish high-necked, long-sleeved *blusa* which displaced it in that it was very loose covering and freely revealed the breasts. The ancient skirt (*cueitl*) was a rectangular cloth which was wrapped around the lower part of the body and held in place with a sash.

291 [177]

The old-style clothing for men consists of white cloth pants (*calzones*), long white cloth underdrawers, a white collarless undershirt (*camisa*), a white collarless overshirt, and a white cotton jacket. Leather huaraches and a straw sombrero complete the costume. (See Fig. 41.) The large, Zapata-type sombreros have given way to smaller-brimmed hats, since the advent of the bus and increased travel. The serape is an important article of clothing and is used for warmth and for protection against rain. The *gabán* is a poncho-like wool blanket and is now considered more old-fashioned than the serape.

[178]

The pre-Conquest clothing worn by men differed considerably from that in the post-Conquest period, but has nevertheless had more influence on later styles than pre-Conquest women's dress.

The ancient costume of the male Aztecs, although modified according to the social position of the wearer, was composed of three principal garments, the *maxtlatl*, a belt or loincloth with the ends hanging down in front like an apron; the *tilmahtli*, a woven cape worn over the shoulders and knotted in front; and the *cactli*, sandals of leather or woven of *maguey* fiber. Of these three, the first has entirely disappeared, the second influenced the form and use of the modern *serape*, while the third remains little changed today.[10]

Children's old-style clothes were reproductions of adult clothing and were worn almost as soon as a child began to walk. (See Fig. 42.)

[855]

[10] Redfield, *Tepoztlán*, p. 42.

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948)1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

291

Fig. 41. Old-style clothing for men.

[178] The new type of dress existed among the wealthier and more citified Tepoztecans in the 1920's but has, during the past twenty years, spread among the rest of the population. For women, the new-style dress (Fig. 43) consists of a one-piece dress (*vestido*), a full-length slip (*combinación*), underdrawers, a long apron (*babero*), and perhaps shoes and stockings. Some of the younger women now use a brassière (*portabusto*), though these, as well as underdrawers, are often dispensed with after marriage. The *rebozo* is also commonly worn, but sweaters, jackets, and even coats are now coming into use. Girls wear one-piece dresses, underdrawers, and occasionally an underslip. The dresses vary in length from below the calves up to the knees.

Modern male dress consists of ready-made pants, a collared and buttoned shirt, and a collared jacket. (See Fig. 44.) Huaraches, now usually made of rubber soles, are still commonly worn, but shoes are worn daily by some, and on holidays and on trips to the city by many. The sombrero is sometimes replaced by a narrow-brimmed felt hat, but only the most citified men in Tepoztlán wear neckties. Modern dress for boys may be overalls or pants and a buttoned shirt. Occasionally a small boy may be seen in a blouse and short pants. Straw hats are universally worn by boys. The *gabán* and serape are now often replaced by a sweater or jacket, and many boys wear shoes.

[292] [177] [369]

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948) 1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

291

Fig. 42. Tepoztecan children's dress.

Older women wear the old-style costume, and younger women wear the new style, indicating as might be expected that age is a primary factor. An analysis of data in the 1940 census shows a clear-cut difference between the dress of women over forty and under forty.

Fig. 43. Old and new styles in women's dress.

2;Lewis E-5 (1943-1948)1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

291.

Fig. 44. Modern dress for men.

No girl under age 9 and only seven girls under age 19 wore long skirts.[18] The small percentage of women over 40 who wear dresses are women of wealthier or more citified families.

[55]
[36]

Women under 40:	Long skirts 10.5%	Dresses 89.5%
Women over 40:	Long skirts 87.5%	Dresses 12.4%

Age is also a factor among men in the wearing of new- and old-style clothing. An analysis of those wearing *pantalones* and those wearing *calzones* shows that the *pantalones* are worn primarily by men under 40, but that *calzones* are more popular among the male population as a whole.

Men under 40:	*Pantalones* 44%	*Calzones* 56%
Men over 40:	*Pantalones* 11%	*Calzones* 89%

In the age group from 1 to 9, the majority of boys wear *calzones*. However, half the boys from age 10 to 19 wear *pantalones*, and the other half, *calzones*.

Occupation is another important factor in determining the type of clothing worn by men. Farmers prefer the old-style dress because, they say, it is better adapted to work in the fields. (See Fig. 45.) *Calzones* are cooler, afford better protection, and are more economical. Huaraches, too, are half the price of shoes and last four times as long. The merchants, artisans, and teachers of the center make up the bulk

[18] In 1948, long skirts were not to be seen among this age group.

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948) 1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

291
142

Fig. 45. A Tepoztecan farmer.

2;Lewis E-5 (1943-1948)1951 HU37 Tepoztlan HU37

of those who wear modern dress. (See Fig. 46.) These men have frequent contact with the city, and shoes and dark trousers are more practical for their mode of life.

In comparing men and women, we note some interesting differences in the trend of styles. Seventy per cent of the women, as compared with 38 per cent of the men, use the new style of clothing; the old styles are disappearing among the women but not among the men. We also find that 14 per cent of the women, as compared with only 5.4 per cent of the men, wear shoes daily. Of course, it should be remembered that the only alternative a woman has to wearing shoes is to go barefoot, whereas men may and do wear huaraches. Nevertheless, in terms of departing from tradition, the wearing of shoes by women is significant. In general, women are less conservative than men in dress and have a stronger drive to be citified and to dress according to the prevailing fashions.

The wearing of modern clothing is related to barrio residence. This is more true of men than of women, as Table 51 indicates.

TABLE 51. Percentage of Men and Women Who Wear Modern Dress.

Barrio	Dresses*	*Pantalones*	Shoes (Daily)
Santo Domingo	68.8	37.4	18.5
La Santísima	74.0	52.0	26.0
San Miguel	70.6	46.2	25.9
Santa Cruz	65.1	21.3	3.9
Los Reyes	70.0	17.5	1.7
San Sebastián	63.2	16.6	2.0
San Pedro	65.8	8.8	0.0

The use of *dresses* is almost equally distributed throughout the village, with the smaller barrios showing slightly less. In contrast, there is a sharp drop in the use of *pantalones* by men in the smaller barrios. Similarly, there are fewer people in these barrios who use shoes daily. The explanation lies principally in the fact that these barrios consist almost entirely of farmers.

Wealth and economic status is only a limited determining factor in style of clothing worn. Before the Revolution, style differences between the upper and lower economic groups were sharper. At present, although clothing is becoming more and more important as an indicator of social status, it is not necessarily an indicator of wealth. The middle economic group, which we have already noted as being the most acculturated group in Tepoztlán, tends to wear modern dress and shoes more frequently than the upper economic group. This was clearly seen in Table 46, p. 176, which attempts to correlate the wearing of shoes with the economic grouping.

The wearing of shoes relates more to the factors of age and occupation than to wealth. The lowest percentage of those wearing shoes is found among the wealthiest, Group III-B, primarily because they are all of the older generation. The largest percentage of those wearing shoes is found in Group II, which contains most of the merchants, artisans, students, and teachers.

The type and quality of clothing worn by children also depend upon age, degree

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948) 1951 NU37 Teposlan NU37

291
142

Fig. 46. A Tepoztecan artisan.

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948)1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

of acculturation of the family, barrio residence, and, to a greater degree than among adults, upon the family's economic status. Other factors affecting children's dress are school attendance and favoritism at home.

The younger a child is, the less effort and money is expended on his clothing and the less significance his clothing has in revealing economic status. In most families, pre-school children are not as well dressed as children who go to school. The only exception to this is the young favorite child of a better-to-do family. A favorite son may be given a little *gabán* as early as three years of age, but most boys do not receive *gabanes* until they begin to go out into the fields. A favorite girl may be given a little *rebozo* as soon as she asks for one, but generally girls receive a *rebozo* at about eight or nine. In very poor families a girl might not be given a *rebozo* until eleven or thereabouts. A favorite girl may receive a pair of gold earrings or a pair of holiday shoes at the age of two or three. Most girls do not receive these before they are fifteen; boys are given huaraches when they begin to work in the fields. Sweaters are worn by children of better-to-do families only.

Parents tend to keep their school children's clothing cleaner and in better repair. Many also make some attempt to keep children dressed in the prevailing styles for their age group. This usually means shorter, better-fitting dresses for the girls, jackets and ready-made pants for boys. (See Fig. 47.) There is also a definite trend among families with enough means to buy children's shoes for special events and school fiestas. The school now places some pressure upon parents to provide shoes for their children by forbidding the latter to join public school parades if they are barefoot. Differences in the clothing of the children of the rich and poor and of the more conservative and acculturated are becoming more marked and school children are becoming aware of the social distinctions involved. Their responses to the thematic apperception cards show school children to be particularly sensitive to clothing and to make appearance a significant aspect of their stories.

The quantity of clothing owned varies considerably from individual to individual. Even within the same family there is some variation. In general, youths and adolescent girls have the most and finest clothing, and the very young and very old have the least. In the poorest families each member may have only one dress or suit of clothing, but this is not common in Tepoztlán. Most women have at least two cotton dresses for daily wear and one rayon dress for fiestas; most men own at least four shirts, four calzones, and one or two pairs of huaraches. The children of the poor tend to have less than this minimum and frequently do not have special clothing for fiestas. In contrast, the middle and upper economic groups have many clothes, and among a few families there is evidence of extravagance in dress.

DIVERSION

Fiestas, both religious and secular, continue to be the main source of diversion for all groups in Tepoztlán. Every year the church calendar provides at least sixty-two important fiestas for Tepoztecans to celebrate, either as participants or observers. Not a month passes without a fiesta, and in some months there are five.

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948) 1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

291
142

Fig. 47. Modern dress of Tepoztecan youth.

2;Lewis E-5 (1943-1948)1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

that of the poor house. The expenditures for both families are summarized as follows:

	Family I (Pesos)	*Family II* (Pesos)
Roofing and remodeling three rooms	980	—
Painting one room	30	—
Whitewashing porch	20	—
New henhouse	100	—
New corncrib	30	—
House tax	5	2
Total	1,165	2

CLOTHING

Clothing takes approximately the same proportion of the total annual expenditures for both families—7 per cent for Family I and 7.9 per cent for Family II. An examination of the type and amount of clothing purchased reveals some interesting differences.

Family I	*Pesos*	*Family II*	*Pesos*
Entire family: cloth for making clothing	138.00	Entire family: cloth for making clothing	53.45
Father: 2 prs. huaraches at 11	22.00	Father: 1 pr. huaraches	5.00
2 sombreros	11.50	2 sombreros	5.50
		1 *gabán*	11.00
Son: 1 pr. huaraches	11.00	First son: 2 sombreros	1.65
1 pr. shoes	22.00	Second son: 1 sombrero	.90
2 sombreros	12.50	Third son: 1 sombrero	.65
1 felt hat	18.00	Infant son: cotton booties	1.00
Mother: 2 prs. shoes	20.50		
Daughter: 2 prs. shoes at 15	30.00		
2 prs. shoes at 20	40.00		
1 pr. shoes	27.00		
3 prs. stockings at 10	30.00		
2 prs. stockings at 15	30.00		
Total	412.50	Total	79.15

The cloth purchased for Family I was used to make men's shirts and pants, women's blouses and dresses, and underclothing for both. Every member of this family still has a good supply of clothing from the previous year. The cloth for Family II was used to make shirts and *calzones* for the father and first three sons. One daughter received a new dress this year because she took part in a religious program. The mother received a dress as a Mother's Day gift from the daughter who works, and the second daughter received a worn dress from the same girl. The younger daughters have worn hand-me-down dresses ever since they were born. The infant wears old clothing given by the mother's sister. All the members of this family except the father and the working daughter always go barefoot.

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948) 1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

Shoes represent an important expenditure in Family I, particularly for the daughter, who spent more on shoes than Family II did to clothe the entire family. In the former family, the expenditure for the children exceeds that for the parents; in the latter family, the largest expenditure is for the father. There is an appreciable difference in the quality of the clothing worn by both families.

511 [291]

EDUCATION

The low proportion of money spent on educational materials by both families is notable. Family I no longer has children in school, but it spends a regular amount of money on newspapers and magazines which the daughter buys for the new dress styles.[19] Family II sent only two children to school in 1944.

HEALTH

In 1944, Family I had more illness than Family II. The daughter was seriously ill with typhus and required a doctor from Cuernavaca. Approximately 100 pesos were spent to cure her. The family also contributed 80 pesos to cure the ailing grandmother. Family II had no serious illness; all colds, intestinal upsets, and infections were treated with home remedies. The mother gave birth to a baby during this year and was attended by a midwife. She received fourteen massages, and the cost of these plus the delivery was 8.24 pesos.

511 758

RELIGION AND FIESTAS

Included under religious expenditures are taxes or contributions and money spent for flowers, candles, and incense. They are as follows:

511 794

Family I	*Pesos*	*Family II*	*Pesos*
August—Barrio fiesta	5.00	August—Fiesta of barrio of Santa Cruz	.50
November—Candles for Day of the Dead	24.00	September—Fiesta of Tepozteco	.25
		Fiesta of barrio of San Miguel	.50
March—Carnaval	10.00	November—Candles for Day of the Dead	8.00
		Flowers	.20
April—Semana Santa	3.00		
Church contributions at 40 centavos per month	4.80	December—Fiesta of Our Lady of Guadalupe	.25
		January—Fiesta of Santa María of Tepoztlán	.50
		Fiesta of Gabriel Mariaca	.10
		Candles	1.00
		Flowers	.25
		Incense	.10
		February—Day of Candelaria	.25
		Constitution Day	.50

[19] It should be noted, however, that this family has spent a relatively large amount on education in the past, since both the children received advanced schooling.

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948) 1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

666
[291]

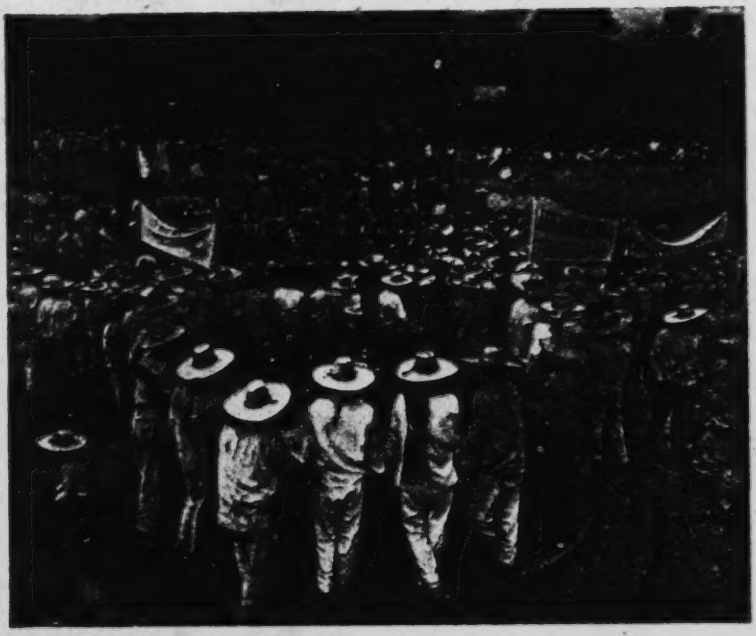


Fig. 48. A political rally for state governor.

(2) The practice of buying votes is a well-established custom in the village. Because of this, only candidates with some financial resources can hope to be successful.

665 (3) Political parties as such exist only in name. Instead there are poorly organized and undisciplined political factions whose members are united more by personal ties of friendship or kinship than by common political ideology. During the twenties and thirties the Bolsheviki and Fraternales attempted to introduce some ideological bases for politics but with the disappearance of these organizations the older personalism prevailed. Informants active in one or another of the political factions could not tell us with any precision how many members they had. At best the reply would be, "We are many," or "We have most of the village with us." From time to time the official party of the government in power sends directions to the village to form a local section of the party, be it the Partido Nacional Revolucionario, the Partido de la Revolución Mexicana, or the present-day Partido Revolucionario Institucional. This is generally done but the Tepoztecans think in terms of a particular man rather than the party he represents.

666
641 (4) Tepoztecans are as a rule very critical of the motives of the municipal and state government, and only less so of the federal government. Nevertheless, they

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948)1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

The quality of constriction is also reflected in artistic expression and creativeness, both of which are limited. There are practically no handicrafts, no pottery, no weaving, no basketmaking. Although sewing, knitting, crocheting, and embroidery are becoming more widespread as a result of the influence of the cultural missions, the patterns used are purchased in Cuernavaca stores or copied from style magazines, and this work can hardly be called creative.

Music and the dance are very poorly developed. There are no traditional dances for men and women. The only traditional step used is the *brinco*, literally "the jump," which is a short jumping or skipping step done repeatedly without variation, to the accompaniment of a simple and monotonous melody played over and over. Only men are permitted to dance this step, and they do so singly or arm in arm with others, around the plaza in a large circle.

Modern social dancing has been learned by some of the more acculturated young people, and dances are held about once a week in the plaza under the uncertain light of a Coleman gasoline lamp. Social dancing has not become popular; most parents still refuse to permit their daughters to attend these dances, and boys have difficulty finding partners. By and large, the dancing lacks skill and grace and the dances seem dreary affairs. The school teaches a few traditional dances from other parts of Mexico, and these are occasionally performed in public by the school children. Most children, however, do not participate or have occasion to use these dances later. In short, the dance is not an important part of Tepoztecan life.

Musical expression consists primarily of singing typical regional songs to the accompaniment of the guitar. The local manner of singing is characterized by loudness and shouting, with little variation of style. These songs are sung exclusively by unmarried youths. Groups of boys or girls may serenade a friend or relative at dawn with the *mañanita*, or birthday songs, which are popular throughout Mexico. Perhaps the best singing occurs in the church where a selected choir of women and children sing under the direction of the *cantor*. New types of songs are being introduced by the school but are sung only by children; popular songs of the city, heard on the radio, are sung by girls in the privacy of their homes.

There are a number of bands of musicians who perform at local fiestas, dances, and at the more elegant weddings, baptisms, and funerals. These bands have a broader repertory than the singers, and play well-known music of Mexico and other nations. In musical skill, however, they compare unfavorably with the village guitar players and with musicians in other parts of Mexico and Latin America.

There is very little storytelling, and unlike villages in Spain, there is no rich lore of proverbs or sayings. Also, mothers generally do not sing to their children.

The clothing of the villagers is somewhat drab. The bright colors found in some parts of Mexico—the red skirts of Cherán, the red seed necklaces of the Tarascan women, the flamboyant serapes and *rebozos* of the south, the colorful pottery of Puebla and Oaxaca—are missing in Tepoztlán. Bright colors, particularly in clothing, are not in accord with Tepoztecan ideas of propriety, and only young girls are now beginning to wear them. Older women wear dull colored dresses,

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948) 1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

shawls, and skirts; men use black and grey serapes; pottery is invariably of unadorned clay. Although *rebozos* of many colors and patterns are easily available in Cuernavaca, there is hardly a Tepoztecan woman or girl who wears anything but a dark blue, brown, grey, or black *rebozo*. The desire to be inconspicuous and less easily identifiable is one of the underlying reasons for this choice. There is also a belief that it is dangerous to wear bright colors, because the rainbow is attracted to them and will follow them.

There is a marked quality of detachment in inter-personal relations in Tepoztlán. Although living side by side, Tepoztecans communicate little of their innermost thoughts, aspirations, fears, likes, and dislikes and, for the most part, remain strangers to one another.[2] While a man may know a great deal about most of his neighbors in a small barrio, and about some in other barrios, and may know them as so-called whole persons, that is, in their various roles as parents, neighbors, godparents, *mayordomos*, or farmers, what is known are the relatively superficial aspects of personality only. Tepoztecans are a practical people concerned with external behavior, and they judge others by actions rather than by attitudes, ideas, or inner life.

When a Tepoztecan is asked to describe the personality of another, the most frequently used terms for positive traits are "hard worker," "serious," "manly," "intelligent," "honorable," "good person," and "good humored." The most commonly pointed out negative traits are "liar," "foolish," "stingy," "drunkard," "talkative," "coward," "crazy," "bad tempered," and "miserable." Traits which imply knowledge about the internal life and quality of an individual, such as "warm" or "cold," "imaginative" or "unimaginative," "sensitive" or "hard," "sympathetic" or "unsympathetic," etc., are significantly absent.

Like many peasant peoples, Tepoztecans are not introspective. They have little insight in understanding their own character and even less of others. There is little interest in or need for self-revelation, mutual confidences, confession, or lengthy conversation; imaginativeness, fantasy life, originality, initiative, and individuality are either undeveloped or suppressed. Always, the emphasis is upon conformity to traditional ways.[3]

The general restraint and constriction which characterize most inter-personal relations are also seen in the relations between the sexes and in the prevailing atti-

[2] Sol Tax has called attention to the impersonality of relations between traders in the Guatemalan highlands. See his "World View and Social Relations in Guatemala," *American Anthropologist*, 43 (1941), pp. 22-42.

[3] I should like to call attention to some of the implications of the above for the traditional distinction made by many sociologists between folk and urban society in terms of primary and secondary relationships. This distinction assumes that in the folk society, which is a small society, most relations are of a face-to-face type and therefore of an intimate nature, in contrast to the impersonal and superficial relationships in the city. The point is that, within the category of primary relationships, the range in the quality of these relationships may be so great as to require finer distinctions. Certainly, for purposes of cultural and psychological analysis, the folk-urban dichotomy is inadequate in that it lumps together societies which are very different. See also Chapter 21, "Summary and Conclusions," p. 433.

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948) 1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

142
291
302

Fig. 51. A Tepoztecan husband and wife.

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948)1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

593 858 Mothers, more than fathers, tend to demonstrate favoritism among their children, and favor boys over girls and small children over grown children. (See Fig. 52.) Mothers tend to be more indulgent and permissive toward their sons. From early childhood, boys are permitted more freedom of movement and expression and more leisure for play. Mothers punish boys less often and make fewer demands on

[142 291 516]

Fig. 52. Tepoztecan mother and sons.

them. Mothers assume a protective attitude toward the son working in the field and sometimes think that the father is expecting too much. However, only an occasional mother interferes on the boy's behalf.

It is common for a mother to favor the youngest child in the family, and she may continue to nurse him and sleep with him much longer than the usual period. The indulgence of the youngest child is often in sharp contrast with the treatment of other children in the family, but mothers commonly favor all children under five or thereabouts. They are given more food, choicer food, toys are bought for them, and they are taken along to fiestas and on visits and trips.

[527] The oldest son also enjoys a favored position in many ways. He is more indulged than subsequent sons and receives more care and attention. His is often the only birthday among the children to be celebrated by a fiesta. A mother looks forward to the day her eldest son marries and brings a daughter-in-law to assist her. One

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948) 1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

with warm oil of rosemary and violet are given to "heat" the womb. A woman who wishes to prevent conception takes "cold" medicines. A woman who wishes a child and cannot conceive may visit the Virgins of Chalma or Tlaltenango, who are believed to have special powers to grant the desire for children. There is a belief that if conception occurs during the full moon, the child will be strong, and married couples sometimes plan to have intercourse during this time.

The most common symptom of pregnancy is the cessation of menstruation. This is almost always true of a first pregnancy, but may not hold for subsequent pregnancies. Menstruation often does not occur for as long as one or two years after giving birth to a child. Since many women conceive during this period, they do not know that they are pregnant until they feel movement or other symptoms, such as nausea. Sometimes women do not become aware of pregnancy because they continue to menstruate for two or three months after conception. This condition is attributed to *los aires* or to weakness of the back.

When Tepoztecan girls married at a younger age than they do now, they were often ignorant of the signs of pregnancy. They would report the cessation of menstruation to the mother-in-law, who would explain its meaning. The girl's own mother would be advised, but the respect-relations and sense of shame between mother and daughter prevented much direct discussion. The young pregnant wife becomes dependent for advice and care upon her mother-in-law, who may keep the girl's mother informed if she wishes to do so. In later pregnancies, mothers and daughters are generally less inhibited in their behavior toward each other.

Pregnant women make every effort to conceal their condition by carefully covering themselves with their *rebozos*, both at home and in the street. When the pregnancy becomes very obvious, women keep to their homes and the more "careful" mothers remain seated as much as possible, so that their children will not take note of their condition. Women who are careless about concealing their condition are looked down upon. City women who walk in the street without *rebozos* to hide their pregnancy are regarded as particularly shameless. Once a city woman who did not wear a *rebozo* came to live in Tepoztlán during her pregnancy, but left shortly because no one would speak to her. Tepoztecans had ostracized her because she was "opening the eyes of their children." More recently Tepoztecans were aroused by the fact that one of the schoolteachers continued to attend school, although in an advanced stage of pregnancy. The school director was chastized, and the teacher was asked to resign.

When a woman knows she is pregnant she informs her mother-in-law, if residence is patrilocal, or her husband, and arrangements are made to hire a midwife. The cost of the midwife has risen, from about ten pesos in 1943 to about twenty pesos in 1948. Before the Revolution, midwives in Tepoztlán received as little as one and two pesos. The rise in price reflects the increasing urbanization of Tepoztlán, as well as the general rise in cost of living in recent years.[3]

[3] In Mitla, in the 1930's, midwives were paid 75 centavos for delivering a girl and one peso for a boy. See Parsons, *Mitla*, p. 78. In Tzintzuntzan, midwives received from 3 to 7 pesos in

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948)1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

551 which the child is most frequently called. Many names are shortened for daily use, and nicknames are common for boys. The children take the surname of the father as their own. For example, when Juan Gómez marries Carlota Villamar, their son Francisco may sign his name as Francisco Gómez Villamar or just Francisco Gómez.[2]

291 854 The parents alone, or sometimes with the help of the grandparents, prepare the necessary clothing for the new baby. In former days, when a girl married at twelve or thirteen, the burden of preparation for the first child fell upon her mother-in-law or mother who usually made baby clothes out of old clothing. Although this is still true in the majority of cases, some more acculturated young wives prepare new baby clothes when they become pregnant for the first time. Later children are [735] generally dressed in the used clothing of the first child. Used clothing is given away [578] only to intimate relatives or to poor people who beg; to offer such clothing to friends or distant relatives would offend them.

Infants are dressed in cotton shirts and *pañales* or diapers of rags tied around the waist with a string. This string is often tied so tightly as to leave a deep red welt. The clothing of infants up to three months is generally warmed before being put on. Dresses are put on girls, and pants on boys, at about four months. Young infants are kept warm by a blanket; older ones, particularly in better-to-do families, by woolen sweaters. Girls' ears are pierced usually about one week after birth, but [304] often later, by a competent female. Red, green, or black silk thread is drawn through the ears until earrings are provided.

515 854 Infants are expected to be kept fairly clean. Most babies up to one year are bathed every three days, but some young mothers bathe their first-born son every day, sometimes even twice a day if the infant is restless. They are bathed in warm water during the warmest part of the day. Most mothers are careful to keep the soap out of the baby's eyes, and babies seem to enjoy their baths. After the bath they are rubbed with alcohol to warm them or are dusted with talcum and are dressed in clean clothing.

854 *Pañales* are changed whenever soiled or only once a day, depending upon the mother. In general, first-born or favorite children are changed more often, as are the children of the more educated families. Other women tend to add dry cloths over the wet ones and make a complete change only when there is a bowel movement. The most *dejada* or careless mothers reuse soiled rags without washing them and may not clean the child for a long time after a bowel movement. For the most [164] part, however, babies are kept clean and do not suffer unduly from rashes or skin irritations caused by diapers.

---

[103] [2] It is interesting to note that as late as 1806, most people in Tepoztlán still followed the Indian custom of identifying people by the name of their house site, in Náhuatl. A census of the village taken at this date shows most of the names as names of house sites, with the first name in Spanish preceding it. The following are some examples of how the names appear in this census, Juan Isidro Tlatelpa, Mariano Eusebio Tecuapan, María Tomasa Tecuapan, María Victoriano Ayopac, María Luisa Tejoac, etc. Note that the surnames are in Náhuatl. These "surnames" were really the names of the house sites, *or sitios*.

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948) 1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU3

out being scolded; have more opportunities to exercise initiative; make choices; and develop their individuality. Such children also receives rattles, balls, dolls, wagons, etc., which the majority of small children in Tepoztlán do without. One of the wealthier families bought a toy automobile with pedals for a favorite grandchild, but large expenditures such as this are extremely rare. Even in poor families, there is indulgence toward the favorite child. In one very poor family, for example, the oldest daughter had no textbook for school because her mother had permitted the baby brother, a favorite child, to tear it up. This type of indulgence is unusual, because most Tepoztecan families are careful not to permit children to damage property.

There is little preoccupation with toilet training, and there is no conventional method or set time to accomplish it. There is almost no effort made to control urination during the first two years. If an infant tends to urinate too frequently, it is believed that the spleen is "cold" and should be warmed by an application of unguent of *ajtes* and hot tallow. Bathing the child in the *temascal* is another form of treatment.

Although expressions of disgust at having to clean up bowel movements are frequent, these do not appear to be related to any deep-seated repulsion. It is the rare mother who is persistent or methodical in training her children early in bowel control. Only two informants displayed any compulsion concerning toilet training and followed a rigid procedure with their children from the age of six months. It is the more acculturated mothers who give earlier and consistent attention to toilet training.

Most mothers take their children to the corral with them two or three times a day when the children are able to walk well. Before that time, children are scolded when they soil themselves and "are called 'little pig,' so that they will be ashamed." By the time children are sixteen months or two years of age, many mothers begin to spank them hard enough to make them cry for doing their "necessities" in the wrong place. At two, some children ask to have their pants removed and can go to the corral alone. Some are able to clean themselves with a stone or leaf or paper at this age. When a child is able to tie and untie his pants, usually by four or five, he is able to go independently. After age four, children are no longer permitted to accompany their mothers to the corral.

There is a tendency for mothers to be more lenient with boys, especially favorites, than with girls in toilet training, with the result that girls are trained earlier. They are spanked and scolded more consistently and harshly, and are required to be less demanding of assistance. Boys between the ages of two and five are occasionally seen playing in the patio naked from the waist down, but more "correct" people consider it very improper to permit boys to play without pants.

Infancy ends with weaning. A child who is nursed for less than two years is generally considered to be deprived. Most mothers nurse their infants until they know that they are again pregnant, which may not be until the fifth month after conception. It is a widespread belief that it is harmful to the child to nurse while

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948)1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

513 855 [836] boy still sleeping with his grandmother or older sister, to whom he had been transferred at the birth of another child. In the only case we have of sexual intercourse between children, a girl of eight and a boy of six, the boy said he had learned it from his older sister with whom he shared a *petate* at night.

863 Enuresis is very common up to the age of five and is not infrequent in boys and girls of seven. It is not considered very much of a problem, but children are sometimes scolded and shamed for doing it. Some parents attempt to curb enuresis by insisting that the children urinate before going to sleep. Children are urged to go to the patio during the night, but parents do not get up to remind them or take them. Although urine tends to pulverize the straw of the *petate*, so that eventually it must be replaced, parents do not express annoyance or concern over this. The *petates* are washed in the morning or merely set in the sun to dry. Children up to the age of seven seldom sleep on a mattress, because of enuresis. [513] [855]

The transition from infancy to childhood is also characterized by less care concerning cleanliness. In general, the cleanest children in Tepoztlán are infants and school children. Children between the ages of two and six are often dirty and unkempt. In more acculturated families there is greater emphasis on cleanliness. Most children are bathed and have their clothing changed once a week, usually on Sunday. In a few families children may be bathed and changed every three or five days. These families also exhort their children to wash their face and hands before eating, but most children receive no training in this until they go to school. Poorer families, which are in the majority, do not wash and change clothes often, as a matter of economy; soap is expensive, and clothing, which is scrubbed on stones, tends to wear out more quickly with frequent washings. In the past, because of greater poverty, people washed and changed clothes once in fifteen days. [735] [296]

Children are bathed in warm water by the mother or older sister, up to the age of seven or eight. They stand for the bath, and their bodies and hair are scrubbed with soap and a pad of rough *ixtle*. The water is poured over their heads, and the soap gets in their eyes. Children do not appear to enjoy the bath as infants do and show much fear of the water. In families in which the children early acquire a sense of shame (usually the more acculturated families), boys of five may refuse to be bathed by their mothers and will accompany their elder brothers to the ravine. Girls exhibit shame earlier than boys, concerning nudity. I saw a ten-year-old boy, stark naked in the patio, being bathed by his grandmother. He seemed a little concerned about hiding his genitals but otherwise showed no embarrassment. This situation, which is unusual in the village, was explained by the fact that the boy was an only child and the favorite of his grandmother, who had bathed him from infancy. 864

Except during the bath, children are never seen without clothes. Boys who are not yet toilet trained sometimes go without pants, but this is very rare over age five. On the whole, nakedness or incomplete dress is associated with poverty, neglect, and immorality. One of the major reasons given for keeping children fully clothed is to prevent masturbation. [291] [735] [839]

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948) 1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

Masturbation is not tolerated at any age and is swiftly punished. Punishment consists of slapping the hands, beating, shaming, and frightening. One boy of five was severely beaten with a rope by his father without explanation because the latter saw the boy holding his penis. One woman threw stones at her eight-year-old daughter and called her names when she saw her examining her genitals while urinating. Children who show interest in their body are *vicioso* or *malicioso* and are called names, such as *cochino* (pig) and *puerco* (hog). Parents who fail to correct their children are called *imoral* or *indecente*. Careful parents keep their children off the streets for fear that they might learn masturbation from their friends. Although occasionally an incorrigible boy may be seen to masturbate surreptitiously, with his hands in his pockets, it is rare to see a child touching his genitals. If masturbation occurs it is secretive.

Between the ages of two and five, children are free to devote themselves entirely to play. Small children are limited, for the most part, to playing in the patio or corral. The only time they are seen in the streets is when they are accompanied by some older member of the family. (See Fig. 54.) They play alone or more usually

Fig. 54. Mother and child.

with brothers and sisters or cousins or perhaps neighbors, whose ages range from five to ten. Older children are required by the parents to play with their younger brothers or sisters, so that it is rare for the latter to be shut out of play. The older children are also expected to keep the younger ones contented and are responsible for their safety. As during infancy, a cry or complaint to the parents on the part of the youngest child usually brings scoldings or punishment down upon the older children. Small children frequently receive rough treatment during play, both intentionally and unintentionally, and are sometimes bribed by the older children

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948)1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

291
342
363
854
857

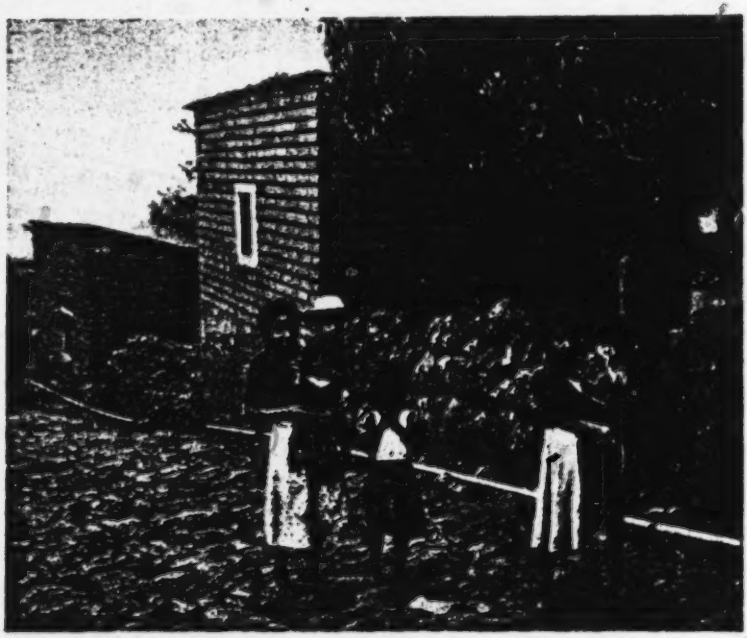


Fig. 58. Child nurses.

177
872
524

physical skill or individual competition (except for marbles and tops), and loosely organized play groups. These games also reflect, to a striking degree, the customs, religion, and temperament of the people. Most of the older games involve running and tagging, singing, responding, and imitating adult life. Choosing between alternatives and receiving punishment in the form of work tasks are also common features.

In contrast, the games taught at school are those in which teamwork, competition, scoring, definite goals, loyalty, leadership, sportsmanship, and physical exertion have an important place. This is especially true of games organized for boys and older girls. These games are popular among the young people and are played with enthusiasm.[1]

159
857
872
883

The range of activities of boys and girls varies widely insofar as work, school, and play are concerned, and can best be appreciated by describing some cases. The following brief accounts of three boys and three girls represent both the extreme and the middle-of-the-road type. The extreme of more work than play, and almost no schooling, is perhaps the most widespread situation in Tepoztlán.

[1] See Appendix F, p. 491, for list of games most commonly played in school and at home by Tepoztecan children.

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948)1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

584 bolster up their courage is common among boys setting out to court a girl. A boy [273] may admire a girl from a distance for several weeks or months without declaring [195] himself, or he will try to get her attention by staring hard at her (*echar el ojo castigado*).[2] (See Fig. 59.) If she notices it and smiles, he is encouraged to proceed [291] [576]

Fig. 59. A Tepoztecan boy trying to get a girl's attention by staring at her.

with the courting. Some few do not approach a girl themselves but do so through [273] a go-between. Boys whose attentions are refused have been known to get drunk for days because of the humiliation. Occasionally a boy who is spurned will revenge himself by attacking the girl with the help of friends. A boy who has received encouragement from a girl in the form of smiles and direct glances and is subsequently rejected by her is especially outraged and feels justified in forcing himself upon her. Girls do not experience the tension and fear of rejection involved in initiating courtship, but they do fear revenge and must be very guarded in their manner with boys. The occasional girl who smiles directly at a boy, or gives him meaningful glances, has almost always set her heart upon him and is quite ready to accept him as a *novio*. Encouragement as open as this is usually successful, for it is a rare boy or man in Tepoztlán who would resist an easy conquest.

The first step in courting is to send the girl a letter declaring love. Occasionally, before writing, a youth may approach a girl in the street and detain her (*atajarla*)

[2] Other expressions used to describe a boy's flirting are *echar vidrio* and *están dandole un gallo la novia*.

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948)1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

584
[539]

There are enough flowers in my heart
To make a bouquet for you.
I shall be happy and you will have no trouble
When you enjoy my love.

Novios continue to write letters to one another because of the difficulty of getting together. There is, of course, much secrecy involved in the sending of letters. Many *novios* have a secret place to leave letters, or they may be delivered [202] by a trusted friend or by a child hired for the purpose. Sometimes *novios* deliver [589] letters to one another in passing. Some widows and girls are known to hire themselves for the purpose of delivering messages for lovers, to patch up quarrels, or

[291]
[576]

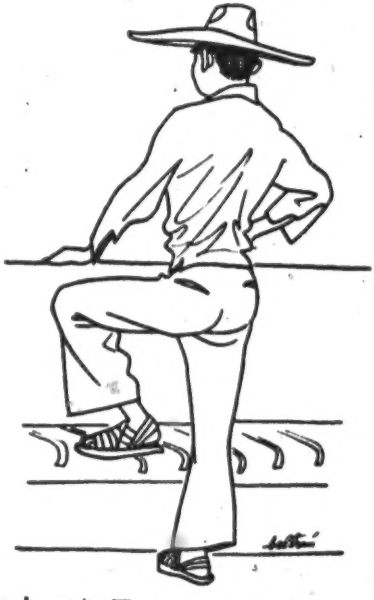


Fig. 60. A boy waiting hopefully at the plaza for a glimpse of his *novia*.

[202] to convince a girl to become someone's *novia*. These women are known as [589] *alcahuetes*. Another term for them is *corre-ve-y-dile* (run-see-and-tell). Both of [195] these are insulting terms, and such go-betweens are strongly disapproved of; they are also suspected of knowing sorcery especially appropriate for *novios*.

Meetings between *novios* may take place at the fountain (Fig. 61), in the corral of the girl's house after dark, or in a deserted spot in the daytime, always with much apprehension about being discovered. If they are *novios* for the first time, [832] acquaintanceship generally develops slowly. *Novios* generally caress and embrace but rarely kiss. Kissing is a modern innovation in courtship, and only the more sophisticated *novios* do so. Kissing is traditionally associated with religious worship,

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948)1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

291
482
887

Fig. 63. Widows carrying firewood.

888
178

generations because of recent social and economic changes. Also, the facts that old people do not usually take an active part in community life, that a large number of the aged are poverty stricken, and that their speech, dress, and manners are now viewed as old-fashioned has somewhat diminished their respect status. Despite the nostalgia of the older folk for the "good old days," however, they are treated with relative respect, and the grandparent-grandchild relations are often of an affectionate nature.

[603]

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948) 1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

291
302
888
737

Fig. 64. Tepoztecans worry about facing a dependent old age.

737
888

The situation of the aged varies considerably from family to family. The ownership of property, particularly of the kind which can be rented out and which produces an income with little or no work, is the best assurance for a secure old age. [428] It is for this reason that parents generally do not divide their property among the children until after death. Delayed inheritance also gives them continued control [593] over their children; if a married son lives with his parents well into their old age they are indeed fortunate, for he works the land, and the daughter-in-law does most of the work of the household. But most old people own only their house and *sitio*, with perhaps a few fruit trees and a pig, and can be self-supporting only by hiring themselves out to others, or by carrying on a business.

A large proportion of old women, especially widows, support themselves by washing and ironing clothes, by selling tortillas, by raising a few pigs and chickens for [589] sale, by buying small amounts of fruit and garden produce to sell in other villages, [887] or as midwives and *curanderas*. There are fewer non-strenuous, gainful activities for old men, particularly for those who have learned no skill other than farming. Those who have no children or relatives to whom they can turn for regular or occasional aid are in a difficult position. Occasionally an aged person finds it necessary to support not only himself but an orphaned grandchild or a disabled, unmarried son or daughter. But the majority of Tepoztecan old people are at least partially aided by a son or daughter, a nephew, or grandchild. Cases of neglect, indifference, and even cruelty occur, but are few.

3:Lewis E-5 (1943-1957) 1960
NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

including those in Tepoztlán, continue to work their tiny subsistence holdings with traditional backward methods. And the contrast between the old and the new agriculture in Mexico is becoming sharper: less than 1 percent of the cultivated land is worked with the aid of the country's 55,000 tractors; about 20 percent of the land is still worked by the pre-Hispanic method of cutting and burning without benefit of plow and oxen. The production of Mexico's two basic food crops, corn and beans, has managed to keep up with the rapid population growth in the past twenty years but the margin of security has been slight. In drought years Mexico has been forced to spend its precious dollars to import huge quantities of corn to feed its people.

That the Mexican economy cannot give jobs to all of its people is indicated in the fact that from 1942 to 1955 about a million and a half Mexicans came to the United States as *braceros* or temporary agricultural laborers, and this figure does not include the "wet backs" and other illegal immigration. Mexico has also become increasingly dependent on the United States tourist trade for stabilizing its economy. In 1957, over 700,000 tourists from the United States spent almost 600 million dollars in Mexico, making tourism the single largest industry in the country. The income from the tourist trade is about equal to the total Mexican federal budget.

One aspect of the standard of living which has improved very little since 1940 is housing. With a rapidly rising population and with urbanization, crowding and slum conditions in the larger cities and towns are actually getting worse. Of the 5.2 million dwellings reported in the Mexican census of 1950, 60 percent had only one room and 25 percent two rooms; 70 percent of all houses were made of adobe, wood, poles and rods, or rubble, and only 18 percent of brick and masonry. Only 17 percent had private, piped water.

The Village

How has Tepoztlán changed in the light of these national trends? In 1956 the village did not look much different from the way it looked in 1943. The plaza and market still seemed rather desolate and unprosperous; no additional buildings had been built in the center. There were no new streets or paved roads except for two long cement treads which led up a steep street to the *Posada del Tepozteco,* the new tourist resort run by an American family. More automobile and bus traffic entered the village, and trucks came in with such new items as purified water and tanks of cooking gas for the homes of the foreign colony.

Village men still carried water to their homes from the nearest fountain; women still queued up to have their corn ground at the mills. The older people looked much the same, but the clothes of the younger people were more varied, colorful, and citified. More young women had short hair and permanent waves, and one young girl wore blue jeans. The young men wore modern trousers, shirts, and jackets, and more children had shoes, sweaters, and store-bought clothes. The small shops sold more canned goods and pack-

3: Lewis E-5 (1943-1957) 1960
NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

paper with some regularity and none of them were peasants. Magazine reading has increased, however. In 1956, about fifty villagers had magazine subscriptions. About half of these were for *Selecciones*, the Spanish version of the *Readers Digest;* others were for such publications as *Life, La Granja, La Tierra, La Sevilla.* Over a third of the subscriptions were held by teachers and most of the others by persons in nonagricultural occupations. The majority of the subscribers were under fifty, and reading was predominantly done by the men. Except for school teachers and some officials, few people owned books, but many children read comics.

Related to the developments noted above are changes in every stage of the life cycle, particularly the rearing of children. Again, most of the changes are found in the middle economic group, and the following discussion of the direction of change applies mainly to this group. Changes are occurring among the tradition-oriented members of the lower groups also, but at a much slower rate.

Women still prefer to give birth on a *petate* with the help of a midwife, but a doctor is often called in for difficult cases. Many young women are rejecting some of the "Indian" customs and cures of the midwives—the food taboos, for example, the use of smoke to help labor, and the wearing of the *huipil.* Magical practices like burying the first milk or throwing it over the roof are being discarded. Because more babies are being bottle-fed, the druggist now keeps a supply of baby bottles and nipples, as well as of formula mixtures. Young women feel less need to follow such customs as sweatbaths or the forty-day postpartum seclusion before the *sacamisa.*

A definite trend toward greater child-orientedness on the part of both parents is evident. Parents tend to be more permissive and more demonstratively affectionate with their young children. More fathers can be seen on the street carrying small children and a few help a little with the children at home. The swaddling of infants has been completely abandoned as "cruel" by some mothers. Parents indulge their children more, especially the first-born, and openly show their pride in their infants by buying them toys, shoes, and attractive clothing. This is in sharp contrast with the older attitude of guarding children from the attention of others through fear of the "evil eye." Younger and more educated parents punish more lightly, permit more play, and send their children to school for as long as possible. The period of adolescence is becoming longer and more clearcut, and the time when youths are expected to contribute to the support of the family is often delayed by years of study.

Arranged marriages have completely disappeared and more couples are marrying for love. Church weddings have become more elaborate and expensive and are patterned after those of the urban middle class. Newlyweds try to set up independent households immediately after marriage or as soon as it is economically feasible to avoid the problems of living with mothers-in-law. Some young wives work as school teachers or shopkeepers, but this is still unusual. More couples are resorting to legal divorce rather than mere separation or abandonment.

A noticeable change has occurred also among the educated middle group

Redfield E-5 (1943-1957) 1960
NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

tional source of income by the prohibiting of charcoal production. Members of the lower segments of this group have gained least from the processes set in motion by the Mexican Revolution. They have been unable or unwilling to leave the village for jobs in the cities or to work as *braceros*. They have taken least advantage of the greater educational opportunities. They continue to farm for subsistence and cling to the old ways of life largely because these are cheaper.

As Tepoztlán moves further into the modern world, it is leaving behind its Indian language, many of its Indian customs, its local autonomy and the collective forms of pre-Hispanic times. Even the communal lands—the bulwark of the traditional order and formerly one of the most important bases for the corporate life of the community—seem destined to be divided up into *ejido* plots, and perhaps later into private holdings. With improved means of communication, greater faith in technology, greater dependence on a money economy and outside jobs, increasing occupational specialization, and a desire for a higher level of living, a change has come about also in the character of the people. As we have seen, Tepoztecans are now less suspicious, less withdrawn, and more concerned with personal development.

Tepoztlán today poses many questions which can be answered only with time. Will the growing individualism bring greater anxiety and frustration? Will it bring greater participation and trust in government? Will the traditional patterns of village life be able successfully to incorporate and reinterpret the present new elements—as has often been done with new elements in the past—or will the old and stable village culture soon be unrecognizable? Will Tepoztecans continue to sell their ancient lands and thereby convert Tepoztlán into a miniature Cuernavaca? Will the recent arrival of electricity be followed by the establishment of factories and the growth of a landless proletariat? Or will the village culture absorb the industrialism that seems to be on its way as some other villages have done?

Changes in village culture are exemplified in changing styles.

[p. 104 not processed]